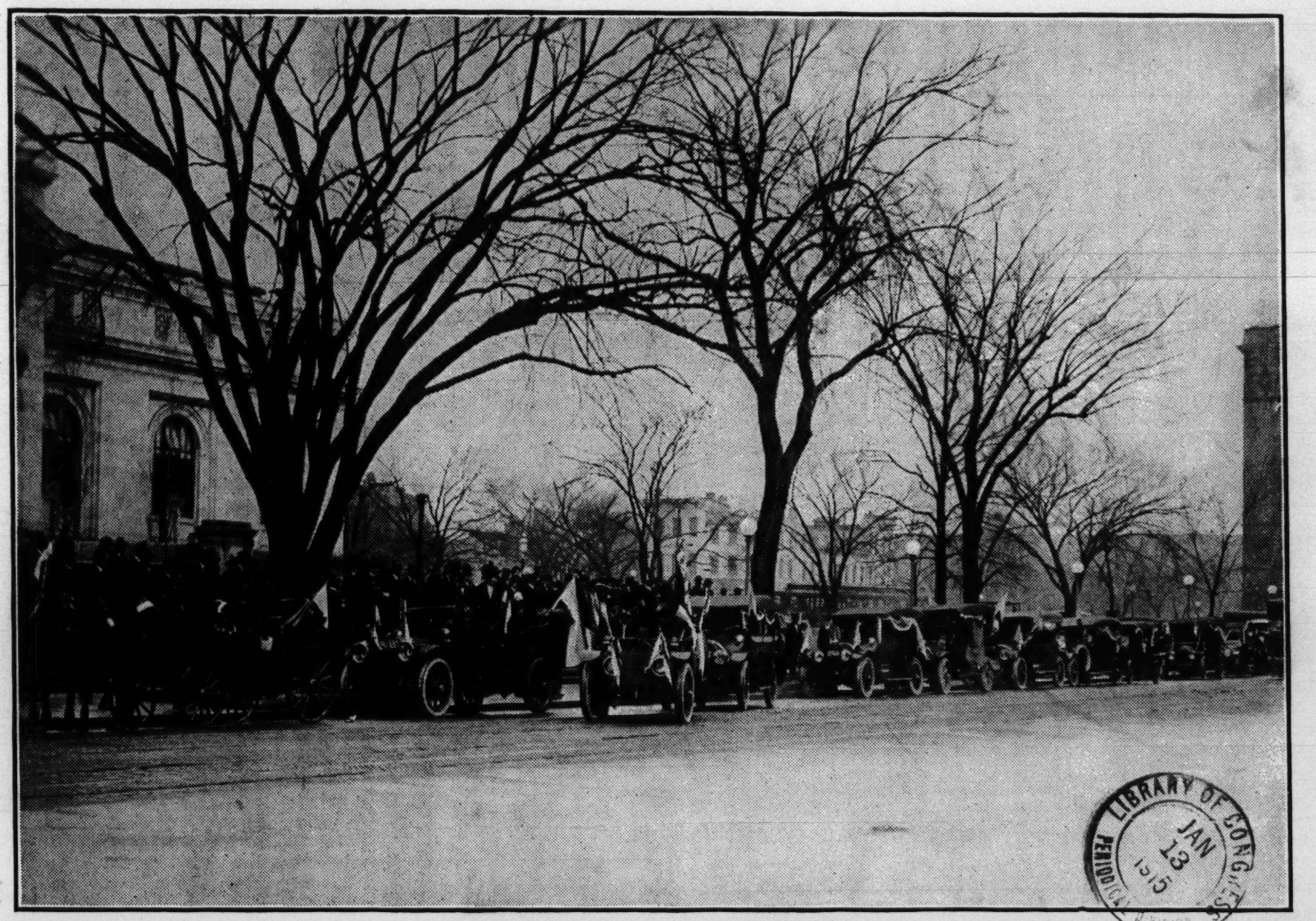
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JANUARY 9, 1915



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PERIODICAL DIVISION

The Deputation of Democratic Women

Automobile Procession of Democratic Women Leaving for the White House to Ask President Wilson to Give His Support to the Bristow-Mondell Suffrage Amendment Soon to be Voted upon in the National House of Representatives

Vol. III January 9, 1915 No. 2

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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News of the Week

The Vote in the House

CHAIRMAN HENRY of the Rules Committee has announced that the debate and vote on the National Suffrage Amendment (Bristow-Mondell Resolution) will occur in the House of Representatives on January 12th, unless the debate on the appropriation bills makes it impossible to obtain time for a vote on that day. Numerous delegations of Suffragists from the various states have sent word that they will be in Washington for the vote and it has been arranged to have a special car come from New York to bring a group from that state. Among those who have planned to come to Washington for this occasion are Mrs. John Winters Brannan and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont of New York, Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston, Mrs. William Bross Lloyd and Mrs. Edgar Martin of Chicago.

Speaker Clark has allotted a hundred seats for the use of Suffragists on the day of the vote. Tickets for these seats may be obtained upon application at Congressional Union headquarters, 1420 F Street.

Petitions to Congress

PETITIONS favoring the passage of the Bristow-Mondell Suffrage Resolution were presented in the House of Representatives, on behalf of their constituents, on January 2d by Representative Kennedy of Rhode Island; on January 4th by Representatives Garner of Texas, and Kennedy and O'Shaunessy of Rhode Island; on January 5th and 6th by Representative Kennedy, and on January 7th by Representatives Gerry of Rhode Island and Graham and Morin of Pennsylvania.

Similar petitions were presented in the Senate on the 6th by Senator Bristow.

The Annual Meeting

ARRANGEMENTS have now been completed for the annual meeting of the Congressional Union to be held in Washington, January 10th. Under the direction of Mrs. Winston Churchill, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Mrs. George Odell, Mrs. Juliet Rublee, and Mrs. Harold Walker, the event promises to be a brilliant affair.

Among those who will be present at the luncheon given by Mrs. William Kent at her home in honor of the members of the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council who have come to Washington for this anniversary are: Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Annie Porritt, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Mrs. Wm. Bross Lloyd, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Mrs. George H. Day, Mrs. Harriott Stanton Blatch, Miss Julia Hurlburt, Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Joy L. Webster, Miss Alice Paul and Dr. Cora Smith King. A conference of the members of the Executive Committee and Council will follow the luncheon, and from five to seven they will be entertained by Mrs. Winston Churchill at her home on Sixteenth Street.

The evening meeting, which will be held at eight o'clock at Rauscher's ball room, Connecticut Avenue, will be the culminating event of the day. Reports will be presented on the past year's work and on plans for the future. Following the meeting an informal reception will be held at which the committee in charge of the meeting will receive the guests and preside at the tea table. Among the wives of Senators and Representatives who will act as hostesses on this occasion are: Mrs. Frank Warren, of Wyoming; Mrs. Robert Owen, of Oklahoma; Mrs. Henry Ashurst, of Arizona; Mrs. Joseph Bristow, of Kansas; Mrs. Luke Lea, of Tennessee; Mrs. James R. Mann, of Illinois; Mrs. William Kent, of California, and Mrs. Frank Mondell, of Wyoming. Others who will help receive are: Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. J. H. Covington, wife of Chief Justice Covington, Mrs. Robert Baker, and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.

Committee of One Hundred

AMONG the members who have joined Mrs. William Kent's Committee of One Hundred to raise funds for the maintenance of the National Headquarters of the Congressional Union at Washington during 1915 are Miss Mary A. Burnham, a member of the Executive Committee of the Philadelphia branch of the Union; Mrs. Henry Justice, of Philadelphia, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Chairman of the Philadelphia branch; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Chairman of the Delaware branch; Mrs. Alden H. Potter, of Minneapolis; Mrs. Raymond Delancy Hasbrouck, of Boston; Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, Mrs. John Winters Brannan and Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, three New York members of the Advisory Council of the Union, and Mrs. Sophie Meredith, Vice-President of the Vigrinia State Suffrage Association, and a member of the Advisory Council.

State Suffrage Amendments

GOVERNOR DAVID I. WALSH, of Massachusetts, in addressing the legislature on January 7th, recommended the passage of a woman suffrage amendment. The amendment passed the last legislature and if successful in the present one will be submitted to the men of the state at a referendum next November.

Majority Leader Hinman re-introduced in the New York Assembly on January 6th a resolution proposing an amendment to the State Constitution enfranchising New York women. This amendment is the same as that which passed the previous legislature and, as in Massachusetts, will be voted upon at a referendum in November if successful in passing the legislature. The resolution provides that the amendment shall be voted upon in the autumn no matter what action is taken on this subject by the State Constitutional convention which will meet this spring.

Governor Hooper's message to the Tennessee legislature on January 6th, recommended a constitutional amendment extending the franchise to Tennessee women. "I still feel," he said in his message, "that if things in the world were as I believe they ought to be, woman's suffrage would not be desirable. Taking conditions as they are, however, there are strong reasons in favor of extending the franchise to woman that did not exist one hundred years ago."

Presidential Suffrage in Rhode Island

THE extension to Rhode Island women of the right to vote for President was advocated by Gov. Beeckman in his inaugural address on January 5th.

"In the interest of plain justice and of sound political principles," he said, "I recommend the passage of an act by the present general assembly granting Presidential suffrage to women."

The Rhode Island women are concentrating on the work for Presidential suffrage at this moment, and are not attempting to secure a constitutional amendment establishing full suffrage in the State.

Woman's Movement for Constructive Peace

THE Woman's Movement for Constructive Peace will hold its first national conference at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., on Saturday and Sunday, January 9th and 10th. This movement was organized by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, of England, editor of *Votes for Women* and a leader in the suffrage work in her own country. Her hope is to unite the women of the world in a war against war, which will be the means of creating a permanent peace. To this end she is working for suffrage first in order that women, who suffer so keenly as a result of war, may have some voice in deciding whether it shall be entered upon. There are to be three different stages in the campaign, starting with the convention to be held in January. First, a campaign through the United States, the greatest neutral country, culminating in a deputation to President Wilson. Here the women's organizations, especially in the suffrage states, will be used to advantage. Second, a deputation will visit all the neutral states of Europe, urging them to co-operate through their governments in carrying out certain definite proposals for peace. And third, there will be a direct appeal for peace to the belligerent governments, with suggestions as to the principles on which peace may be maintained.

The following eight propositions will be presented to the conference for its consideration, as a basis for the peace movement.

1. The reinforcement of democracy by the inclusion into the articulate ranks of citizenship of the mother-half of the human race.
2. The construction of some constitutional machinery (where none exists) by which the democracies can exercise some control over foreign policy.
3. The ratification by the representatives of the people of all treaties and alliances with foreign powers.
4. The nationalization of all manufacture of armament, and a veto on the export of ammunitions from one country to another.
5. The holding of the Allies to their slogan that this is a war to end war. Insistence that no province shall be transferred from one government to another without the consent of the population concerned, to be obtained by plebiscite—women as well as men to be included.
6. Representation of women as well as men at The Hague Convention.
7. The furtherance of international agreement, that will put all the powers back of any law-abiding nation that is aggressively attacked.
8. The furtherance of the construction of some form of European Senate of Nations, by which nationalities can conduct negotiations for concessions or rights, and can bargain and exchange for necessary outlets, without being driven as the only alternative to seize what is vital to their development by slaughter and looting.

Democratic Deputation to the President

PRESIDENT WILSON made it entirely clear to 150 Democratic women who called upon him on Wednesday, January 6, in the interest of the national suffrage amendment, that his attitude of hostility to that measure had undergone no change.

There was a far more friendly atmosphere than has characterized the reception of previous suffrage delegations. The President greeted with marked cordiality the women of the National Wilson and Marshall League and of the Association of the National Democratic Women of America as they were presented to him by Mrs. George A. Armes, president of the latter organization, who led the deputation. But he indicated no retreat from his previous position.

"I am most unaffectedly complimented by this visit that you have paid me," the President assured his visitors. "I have been called on several times to say what my position is in the very important matter that you are so deeply interested in. I want to say that nobody can look on the fight you are making without great admiration, and I certainly am one of those who admire the tenacity and the skill and the address with which you try to promote the matter that you are interested in.

"But I, ladies, am tied to a conviction which I have had all my life that changes of this sort ought to be brought about state by state. If it were not a matter of female suffrage, if it were a matter of any other thing connected with suffrage. I would hold the same opinion. It is a long-standing and deeply matured conviction on my part and therefore I would be without excuse to my own constitutional principles if I lent my support to this very important movement for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"Frankly, I do not think that that is the wise or the permanent way to build. I know that you perhaps unanimously disagree with me, but you will not think the less of me for being perfectly frank in the avowal of my own convictions on that subject; and certainly that avowal represents no attitude of antagonism, but merely an attitude of principle.

"I want to say again how much complimented I am by your call and also by the confidence that you have so generously expressed in me, Mrs. Armes. I hope that in some respects I may live to justify that confidence."

The President's statement was made at the conclusion of the opening remarks of Mrs. Armes, in which she, on behalf of the deputation, had asked him to use his influence to secure the passage of the pending suffrage amendment when it came to a vote in the House the coming week.

"We come to you, Mr. President," said Mrs. Armes, "as loyal Democratic women, each of whom individually used her influence during the last campaign to help in the glorious victory of our party. We are members of the National Wilson and Marshall League, which was formed by Secretary McAdoo to help you in your campaign for the Presidency, and members of the Association of National Democratic Women of America. We ask you, as the leader of our party, to use the great power which you possess to secure the passage of the Mondell amendment in the House.

"As members of the Democratic Party, we hope that that party may seize the opportunity of honoring itself by freeing American womanhood as another party won glorious fame in freeing a race."

Mrs. Armes then presented Miss Alberta Hill of New York, who had been assistant in charge of the National Democratic Committee headquarters during Mr. Wilson's campaign. The President greeted Miss Hill with marked cordiality, and listened attentively as she briefly and with great earnestness pointed out that, while the federal government protected men in the exercise of citizenship throughout the United States, a woman lost her right to vote when she crossed the line from a suffrage to a non-suffrage state. Miss Hill read extracts from the speech delivered by Mr. Wilson on the occasion of the formation of the Wilson and Marshall League at Spring Lake, N. J., two months after his nomination.

The President listened with close attention, a smile quivering at the corners of his mouth. As she concluded, a ripple of amusement ran around the circle of auditors, and the President laughed outright.

SPOKESMEN FOR THE DEPUTATION
(Left to right) Dr. Frances Van Gasken, Mrs. George A. Armes, Miss Alberta Hill

"I cannot argue as well as you can," he told Miss Hill, with evident enjoyment.

The extracts from the address were as follows:

"When the last word is said about politics, it is merely the life of all of us from the point of view of what can be accomplished by legislation and the administration of public office. I think it is artificial to divide life up into sections: it is all of one piece, though you can't attend to all pieces of it at once.

"And so when the women, who are in so many respects at the heart of life, begin to take an interest in politics, then you know that all the lines of sympathy and intelligence and comprehension are going to be interlaced in a way which they have never been interlaced before, so that our politics will be of the same pattern with our life. This, it seems to me, is devoutly to be wished.

"And so when the women come into politics, they come in to show us all those little contacts between life and politics, on account of which I, for myself, rejoice that they have come to our assistance; they will be as indispensable as they are delightful."

The place of Mrs. John E. Turney of Nashville, chairman of the Southern Section of the National Wilson and Marshall League, was taken by Dr. Frances G. Van Gasken of Philadelphia, senior physician of the Woman's Medical College, Mrs. Turney having been prevented by illness from coming to Washington to participate in the demonstration. Dr. Van. Gasken stated in reply to the President's contention that suffrage was a matter for the states that the proposed suffrage resolution would mean the submission of the suffrage question to the states for action through their state legislatures and would not in any way take it away from the states. She pointed out that ratification by three-fourths of the states was necessary before the amendment would become law and that the states, on forming the national government, had agreed that one-fourth should yield to the other three-fourths on questions of national amendments. Mr. Wilson listened gravely to this argument, but made no comment.

Mrs. Armes then read to the President, and left in his hands the following telegram:

"Democratic women of Colorado strongly urge action on behalf of the Bristow-Mondell resolution, the passage of which this delegation of Democratic women is today seeking, while the overwhelming Democratic majority is still your support. Will you not, in harmony with the great principles of Democracy, use your power with Congress so that this amendment may be referred to the state legislatures without further delay? We bespeak for the women of the Nation the political freedom which has been ours for a quarter of a century."

The telegram was signed by Mrs. Lucy Harrington, Recorder of Deeds; Alma Lafferty, ex-member of the Colorado State Legislature; Mrs. Mary C. Bradford, State Superintendent of Instruction; Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, State Committee-woman of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Nora Wright; Honora MacPherson, member of the Executive Board of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Frances Belford, pioneer Suffragist and club woman; Anna Stull, Frances Teller, and Nancy Kirkland, all of them Democratic women active in the political life of Colorado.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

SECTION OF THE DEPUTATION WAIT

The reception of the deputation at the White House followed a meeting of the delegates in the Public Library at one o'clock. Mrs. George A. Armes presided. Miss Alberta Hill declared that if Mr. Wilson would only read his own speeches with the eyes of a woman and a Suffragist, he would find they were the strongest utterances on record in advocacy of that reform. Mrs. Ellis Logan, president of the District of Columbia branch of the Federation of Women's Clubs, spoke hopefully of the belief of the Democratic women of the country that the President would extend his aid in behalf of the women's measure.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Logan's remarks, the meeting adjourned and the delegates proceeded to the White House in an automobile procession, each car gayly decorated with purple, white and gold flags and streamers of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. Promptly at two o'clock the President, accompanied by his military aide, entered the East Room, where the delegates were gathered, and, advancing toward Mrs. Armes, who stood with Miss Hill and Dr. Van Gasken at the head of the double line of women forming a half circle facing the door through which the President entered, greeted her with friendly courtesy and listened while she presented the plea of the women who had supported his campaign.

At the termination of the audience the President shook hands cordially with every woman in the delegation, many of whom he recognized and detained for a brief personal greeting as they passed in line before him from the room. Later he sent from the White House conservatories to Mrs. Armes the flowers which were used as table decorations at her reception and tea at the White Parlor of the New Ebbitt, in honor of the members of the deputation.

Coupled with their pleasure at the personally friendly attitude of the President were many expressions of bitter disappointment and dissatisfaction with his position on the question of national woman suffrage.

"The President's statement to our deputation today was both inconsistent and illogical," declared Dr. Van Gasken. "Here is a man who goes to Congress and says 'you must do this' and it is done. He offers powerful aid to the movement in behalf of Philippine independence and in the next breath refuses to aid in accomplishing the enfranchisement of the women of America. If he had the conviction that woman suffrage was right and just he would aid us as no one else at the moment could. This he has definitely declared he will never do."

Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Union, in commenting on the deputation, said: "By refusing his support to the national suffrage amendment, which will be voted upon in the House of Representatives next week, President Wilson as leader of the Democratic Party, has laid upon that party a very heavy burden. The Democratic Party through its control of all three branches of the Government, is responsible for the fate of the amendment next week. If the Democratic members of Congress make as bad a record for their party on the subject, as has the President, that party can no longer hope to receive the support of self-respecting women."

Among those who took part in the deputation were Mrs. John Evans and Mrs. Tom Stout, both wives of Democratic members of Congress from Montana, and Mrs. John Stevens, wife of one of the Democratic Congressmen from Texas. The Delaware delegation was led by Mrs. Reuben Satterswaite and Mrs. Francis I. du Pont, of Wilmington. A delegation of thirty Democratic women came over from Maryland including Mrs. Laurens Prior, Mrs. George Wilson, Mrs. J. Ross Thompson, Miss M. Soper, Mrs. Sara Brown, Mrs. W. J. Funck, Miss Emma Webb, Mrs. Howard Schwartz, Miss M. Clair O'Brien, and Miss Frances Wills. From South Carolina came Mrs. N. H. Reed, of Cherew; from Connecticut Miss Florence Lee; from Massachusetts Mrs. Mary Wilson and Mrs. Mary E. Houghton; from New Jersey Mrs. Mary Correll, Miss Julia Hurlbut, Mrs. E. Lukens and Miss Lukens. The women voters were well represented in the delegation, among them being Mrs. J. W. Hamilton, of Colorado. A particularly large delegation came from Virginia, while West Virginia, Nebraska, Illinois, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and other nearby states sent one or more representatives.

Among the delegates from the District of Columbia branch of the National Association of Democratic Women of America were: Miss M. E. Melick, Mrs. S. B. Mercier, Mrs. E. B. Dean, Mrs. Lewis B. Thompson, Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, Mrs. Edna R. Saul, Mrs. P. W. Von Dachenhausen, Mrs. Marie H. Smith, Mrs. Mary Sitz Parker, Miss Silvia W. Metcalf, Mrs. A. S. Maddox, Mrs. Ellis Logan, Mrs. Ella S. Knight, Miss Margaret Killeen, Mrs. E. W. Ions, Miss L. Luella Hogue, Mrs. Bertha Lincoln Heustis, Mrs. Wm. Graham Harvey, Mrs. I. F. Green, Miss Blanche Finley, Mrs. Martha Fairfield, Mrs. John Evans, Mrs. Clayton Emig, Mrs. J. J. Corcoran, Miss Katherine Corcoran, Mrs. J. Edson Briggs, Mrs. H. C. Cook, Mrs. Rachel Tongate Beck, Mrs. Cyrus Chambers, Miss Virginia Campbell, Mrs. Whyte, Mrs. McMillan, Miss Ellen Stone, Miss Florence Alexander, Miss Ellen Robinson, Mrs. Teressa Dean, Mrs. Jonathan Hagan, Mrs. M. C. Davis, Mrs. Laurens Prior, Mrs. Anna Van Moller, and Miss Marjorie Weaver.

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WAITING AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Photo by Schutz, 613 14th St.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

SOME day the advocates of woman suffrage are going to learn just what President Wilson's views are in regard to the movement.—*Daily Argus-Leader*, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Dec. 15.

Equal Suffrage Amendment Comes Next

IN arranging a date for consideration of the prohibition amendment to the United States constitution, the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives arranged its legislative program so that the equal suffrage amendment should next have a hearing and be granted a decision by the popular branch of Congress. In view of the nature of the "victory" scored by the anti-prohibitionists in the House a few days ago it is a little odd to find some newspapers holding editorially that this matter is "disposed of," and even more odd to find them taking satisfaction in the belief that equal suffrage will be "disposed of" in the same way. Of course this is absurd. Practically the same number of states, fourteen, stand committed now to equal suffrage and to prohibition, although not the same states may always be found in both columns, while no less than twenty-two other states grant more or less extended, or more or less limited, political rights to women.

No well-informed person, we believe, will contend that the vote on prohibition in the House a few days ago settled anything beyond the fact that prohibition already has more than a majority in that body. Possibly equal suffrage will show even a larger voting strength, but if it should show a smaller, the only thing the cause could suffer would be postponement of an opportunity to go to a referendum of the states.

One of the latest arguments brought against the prohibition and equal suffrage amendments is that they contemplate a violation of state rights. If this is the case, then it would seem one might ask if the very act of union itself was not in violation of the rights of the individual states. As a matter of fact, the equal suffrage amendment proposes that the states shall decide for the nation whether or not women shall have equal citizen standing with men. The opponents of equal suffrage, like the opponents of prohibition, are striving to deny the sovereign states their right to pass on a question of fundamental federal law.

Issues of so great concern to the nation as those of prohibition and equal suffrage cannot be "disposed of" in any such manner as some of our contemporaries seem to suppose. They cannot really be disposed of at all until they are disposed of rightly.—*Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 30.

The Coming Vote

THE administration will doubtless exercise all its influence against the suffrage resolution passing the House when the proposition is voted on in that body. In fact, it is already working tooth and nail to influence as large a vote as possible against it, and leader Underwood is already predicting a large adverse majority. Nobody has expected that a majority in favor of suffrage could be found in the present Congress, but the House at least will be placed on record and what ever the result it will only mark the beginning of the end in Congress. Sometime in the not distant future a Congress is going to take favorable action to amend the constitution to permit equal suffrage. The powers that be, of all parties expect that, and it is only a question of time.—*The Advance*, Burlington, Vt., Jan. 2.

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COLORS—PURPLE, WHITE AND GOLD

Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914.
Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

Result of the Last Deputation

THE eighth deputation to President Wilson on behalf of the National Suffrage Amendment is now a matter of history. Women high in the councils of the Democratic Party appealed to their party leader to give his influence to the amendment soon to be voted on in the House.

The President's only reply was to take refuge in the cry of "states' rights" and to send a bunch of roses to the leader of the delegation.

The deputation has served a very distinct purpose, nevertheless. It has clarified the situation in the eyes of the country, the Democratic Party, and particularly of women.

It has demonstrated to the country, with crystal clearness, that the leader of the Democratic Party has made for his party a very bad record on the suffrage question at the time when he had the opportunity of giving help which would have probably meant the success of the amendment. The country at large can have no doubt, after last Wednesday's deputation, of the attitude of the National Democratic Party, as expressed through its leader toward the suffrage movement. The responsibility for the fate of the amendment next week has now been transferred to the Democratic members of Congress. Theirs is the opportunity to redeem their party from the record which the President has made for it on this subject.

Secondly, the deputation showed in unmistakable terms to the Democratic leaders that there is a widespread desire among the women of the party that it should take up the national suffrage amendment and that continued opposition on the part of the party to that amendment will almost inevitably lead to a revolt on the part of self-respecting women who have heretofore given their allegiance to the Democratic ranks.

Finally, it has demonstrated to women the futility of working for any man's organization with the expectation that, in appreciation of their labor and money so freely expended, such a party will in turn be led to recognize the justice of the elementary demand of women for direct instead of indirect participation in political life.

The Indianapolis Speech

ON Friday, at Indianapolis, President Wilson delivered a speech which the leading Democratic organ, the *New York World*, calls "one of his greatest public efforts." His theme was the achievements of the Democratic Party in the past and its promises for the future. "The Democratic Party, and only the Democratic Party," said President Wilson, "has carried out the policies which the progressive people of this country have desired."

Evidently the President feels that the local granges in all parts of the land; branches of trade unions and kindred labor organizations in every section of the country; organizations working for peace, for child labor reform, improvement in the hours and wages of women; single tax organizations; child welfare societies, temperance bodies; and the many, many other groups devoted to social reform that have gone on record on behalf of the national suffrage amendment, do not represent "the progressive people of this country."

"Human Liberty"

YOU make wonderful speeches for woman suffrage, did you but realize it, Mr. President," said Miss Alberta Hill, as one of the spokesmen for the Democratic Women's Deputation. The President has given yet another instance of his ability in this line.

"Now there is one thing I have got a great enthusiasm about, I might say almost a reckless enthusiasm," he said in his Indianapolis speech, "and that is human liberty. * * * I hold it is a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government." And then he continued with regard to the Mexicans. "The government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and God speed them in getting it, is theirs. And so far as my influence goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them."

But why, the query instantly comes, have not women then the right "to determine their own form of government?" Why Mexico and not the feminine half of our own people?

The Democratic Party on Trial

THE Democratic Party is still on trial." So declared the President in this same speech. "This country is guided and its policy is determined by the independent voter; and I have come to ask you how we can best prove to the independent voter that the instrument he needs is the Democratic Party, and that it would be hopeless for him to attempt to use the Republican."

May we respectfully suggest that the independent voter might be moved to greater appreciation of the Democratic Party as "the instrument he needs" if that party would display the same eagerness in establishing self-government for women as for Filipinos and Mexicans.

The Conservative Temperament

I RESPECT the conservative temper," President Wilson told us in this same Indianapolis speech.

"I claim to be an animated conservative myself; because, being a conservative I understand to mean not only one who preserves what is best in the Nation, but who sees that in order to preserve it you dare not stand still, but must move forward. For the virtue of America is not statical; it is dynamic. All the forces of America are forces in action or else they are forces of inertia."

Abraham Lincoln said half a century ago, "I go for all sharing the privilege of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women." President Wilson seems to have neglected to qualify under the second part of his definition of a conservative as one who sees that to preserve "what is best in the nation * * * we dare not stand still, but must move forward." He can hardly claim to be as far along with regard to the principles of self-government as was Abraham Lincoln in the Civil War period. May we ask the President to ponder his words that the "virtue of America is not statical; it is dynamic."

The National Woman Suffrage Amendment

By Ida Husted Harper

Author of the Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, and with Miss Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, of the History of Woman Suffrage

THE movement to obtain the suffrage for women, which began with the first Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, was up to the beginning of the Civil War carried on chiefly by committees, although a few state associations had been formed. During that long conflict the women put aside entirely their own claims and devoted themselves to its tremendous demands, just as the suffragists in European countries are doing today, and not till it was ended and the Government at Washington secure did they return again to the task of getting a voice in that government. Until after the close of the war they knew no way of accomplishing this except by the slow process of amending the constitutions of all the States. When, however, in 1866, after the Constitution of the United States had been amended to abolish slavery, another amendment was proposed to protect negro men in their right of suffrage which they had somehow suddenly acquired, the women saw a great light and began to demand that they also should be protected in this same right, which seemed to be inherent, in citizens.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton led this demand, but to their surprise and grief they found it bitterly opposed by the very men who had been their strongest supporters before the war. So adroit were the arguments of these new opponents that it was the duty of the women to stand aside for the negro men, and so earnest were the promises that their demands should be granted in a very short time, that the most of them yielded, and Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton found themselves largely, but not wholly, deserted also by the women with whom they had been working for many years. The Fourteenth Amendment was declared ratified in July, 1868, utterly regardless of the protests of the women, and then to their intense indignation, the following year another was proposed to guard still further the rights of negro men but still ignoring all women. In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment was announced by Congress to be a part of the Constitution. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Had the brave band of women who fought under the banner of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony been able to have the word "sex" included in this amendment the question of equal suffrage would have been forever settled and thousands of women would have been spared the arduous labor of the past thirty-five years.

Many of the best informed suffragists, supported by able legal opinion, believed that women were already enfranchised under the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment:

Section 1. *All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, etc.*

The status of women as citizens is here for the first time clearly defined and it is shown to be exactly the same as that of men. The "right" of citizens to vote is declared in Amendment XV, and if it is a right it is equally a privilege. The States are forbidden to abridge the privileges of citizens, therefore no State can legally deny the suffrage to women.

IN order to have united and organized action representatives of nineteen States met in New York City in May, 1869, and formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. Since much doubt existed as to the recognition by the courts of woman's right to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment, it was thought probable that another would be necessary, and so the specific object of this new association was declared to be a Sixteenth Amendment. In the resolutions and speeches at all its conventions this was the key note, but meanwhile every possible effort was made to test the franchise rights of women under the Fourteenth. In the autumn of 1872, in many parts of the country women attempted to vote and in some places succeeded. This was true of Miss Anthony, who voted in Rochester, N. Y., and was arrested, tried and fined $100, which she never paid. By a technicality she was prevented from taking her case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The vote of Mrs. Virginia L. Minor, leader of the suffrage forces in Missouri, was refused in St. Louis, and she carried her case through all the lower courts, with an adverse decision in each. It then went to the U. S. Supreme Court and was argued by her husband, Francis Minor, a noted constitutional lawyer, where it was decided against her in 1875.

From this time the National Association concentrated its effort on securing a new amendment, but it was plainly evident that there was no hope for this until the experiment of woman suffrage had been made in a number of the States. The association therefore lent its aid to every State campaign, sending money and workers, and was also for many years the great educative force in creating favorable sentiment throughout the country. Since 1869 it has held annual conventions—up to 1895 in Washington, since then in various States—and its representatives have appeared before the committees of every Congress. It never swerved in its demand for the one amendment: "The right of citzens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." This was the wording adopted in 1869 and no necessity for a change ever was apparent. Two generations of women have pleaded with Congress for this amendment and committees of Senate and House have said many times that the suffrage "hearings" were unsurpassed in dignity, logic and eloquence. It was for this national measure that the statesmanlike addresses of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe, and Lillie Devereux Blake were made, and in its behalf were uttered the persuasive words of Lucy Stone, Zerelda G. Wallace, Frances E. Willard and a host of women who have passed from earth.

THE suffragists do well to call it the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, for she never failed to go before the committees of a single Congress from 1869 to the year of her death with her matchless constitutional arguments for its adoption. It was the ultimate aim of her life and to her mind it held the true solution of the problem. From the depth of forty years' experience she prayed that women might be spared the ordeal of begging their political freedom from the masses of voters and she would have spurned the recently proposed substitute which would send them twice to this uncertain tribunal. So intense was her belief in this simple, straightforward amendment that she never would be turned aside herself or permit the association to be for any makeshift or partial measure. She believed that the National Constitution might be construed to give women a vote for members of the lower house of Congress, but she felt sure that the U. S. Supreme Court would not so construe it, and so she was never willing that the time and money of the association should be used in this vain effort.

The National Association, which made no mistake in following the wise and masterful leadership of its founder for almost forty years, cannot be mistaken in continuing to follow it when no new conditions have arisen to make a change necessary. Miss Anthony's amendment, which in the present Congress bears the names of those who introduced it—Senator Bristow and Representative Mondell—has overcome all objections except the one which must unavoidably be made to any amendment of the National Constitution, that it interferes with the rights of the States. The suffragists of the country should not allow themselves to be led astray but should stand by their original measure through successive defeats until it reaches inevitable victory.

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ONE of our members, in sending in a New Year's gift to the Union, writes: "In my opinion, the Congressional Union is doing the most statesmanlike thing that has ever been done for the enfranchisement of all the women in this nation and deserves the strongest possible support. I wish very much that I were free to help you with work as well as with what little money I can send you."

Will not all other members who are unable to give personal service do their share in this national movement by helping in providing money for rent and other inevitable bills?

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

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Total through January 4, 1915	$52,593.66

1000 New Subscribers

MRS. MARY C. THERKELSEN, a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union and one of the most prominent women of Oregon, writes to the *Suffragist:* "I am getting fairly wedded to the paper. It is splendid. I pass on every copy to some friend." This is the spirit that counts for much in the movement for the national amendment. Every copy of the *Suffragist* contains matter of the most vital importance to those who wish to keep informed of the action of Congress on the suffrage measure. Will you not help by passing on your copies to those who are not already readers?

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers DECEMBER 22, 1914, TO JANUARY 4, 1915

(In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

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	45
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	456
Total to January 4th	501

New Members

AMONG the new members who have joined the Union are Mrs. Florence Belle Brotherton, formerly President of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Association of Michigan; Mrs. Ralph Ainsworth, Secretary of the State Federation of Woman's Clubs of Michigan and President of a large Dramatic Club in Detroit; Mrs. A. G. Boynton, founder and first President of the Michigan Federation of Woman's Clubs; Mrs. Carrie Oosdyke, formerly President of the Detroit Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. E. M. Fairfield, President of the Omaha, Nebraska, Suffrage League; Mrs. Julia Reinhardt, one of the oldest Suffragists of the country, who had charge with Mrs. Ida Waters of the recent campaign of the New York Woman Suffrage Party, at Coney Island, and Mrs. H. C. Sumney, one of the most prominent women in the recent suffrage campaign in Nebraska.

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